

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
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FM AMEMBASSY BERLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4210
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION USBERLIN UNN
USMISSION NATO
AMCONSUL BREMEN
AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
AMCONSUL HAMBURG
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMCONSUL STUTTGART

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BERLIN 5408

E O 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, GE, GW
SUBJ: PERMANENT REPRESENTATION'S VIEW OF FRG/GDR RELATIONS AND
OTHER SUBJECTS.

SUMMARY: AT LUNCH FEBRUARY 25, EMBOFF HAD OCCASION TO RAISE
A NUMBER OF MATTERS WITH HERMANN VON RICHTHOFEN, POLITICAL
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ADVISOR (EXTERNAL) TO THE FRG PERMANENT REPRESENTATION
LEADER GAUS. RICHTHOFEN INTERPRETED THE RECENT HONECKER
INTERVIEW AS GIVING A HOPEFUL SIGNAL OF THE GDR'S INTEREST
IN PURSUING BETTER RELATIONS WITH THE FRG (THIS
CONVERSATION TOOK PLACE BEFORE THE ANNOUNCEMENT ON
FEBRUARY 25TH THAT THE GDR WOULD BEGIN TO TAX AUTO-
MOBILES ENTERING EAST BERLIN FROM WEST BERLIN BEGINNING

ON MARCH 1ST). RICHTHOFEN CHARACTERIZED THE RECENT FRG/ GDR EXCHANGE OF AIDE MEMOIRES ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES OF THE FRG REPRESENTATION IN EAST BERLIN AS LEADING TO A PERIOD DURING WHICH IT WAS FELT THE GDR WOULD NOT PUT ANY ADDITIONAL PRESSURE ON THE REPRESENTATION. THE CURRENT STATUS IS THAT GDR VISITORS MAY FREELY ENTER THE REPRESENTATION BUT THAT PLAINCLOTHES POLICEMENT STILL HOVER IN THE VICINITY. THE POLICE, HOWEVER, ARE NOT BELIEVED TO BE STOPPING VISITORS AFTERWARDS FOR IDENTIFICATION OR OTHER PURPOSES. WITH REGARD TO CHARTER 77 IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, RICHTHOFEN AGREED WITH EMBOFF THAT THERE APPEARED TO BE NO EVIDENCE OF SUPPORT AMONG GDR INTELLECTUALS FOR THE MOVEMENT AND A SIMILAR MOVEMENT WAS NOT EVEN BEING TALKED ABOUT IN THE GDR. WHEN ASKED ABOUT THE FUTURE OF MR. GAUS, RICHTHOFEN DISMISSED ANY THOUGHT THAT MR. GAUS WAS IN SERIOUS POLITICAL DIFFICULTY BECAUSE OF HIS SPIEGEL INTERVIEW. PEOPLE AT THE REPRESENTATION EXPECTED HIM TO STAY FOR A GOOD DEAL LONGER, HE SAID. ON THE SUBJECT OF GDR INTELLECTUALS, RICHTHOFEN SAID THAT A GOOD MANY OF THEM, PARTICULARLY UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS, ARE DISENCHANTED WITH THE SED LEADERSHIP BECAUSE OF THE LATTER'S PRIVILEGED LIFESTYLE AND LACK OF CONTACT WITH THE PEOPLE.

1. AIDE MEMOIRE: AFTER NOTING THAT THE REPRESENTATION DID NOT EXPECT THE KIND OF SURVEILLANCE WHICH HAS TAKEN PLACE BY GDR UNIFORMED AND PLAINCLOTHES POLICEMEN FOR THE PAST TWO MONTHS TO BE REINSTATED, RICHTHOFEN SAID IT APPEARED, THERE COULD BE PROGRESS NOW IN SUCH THINGS AS ECONOMICS, CONFIDENTIAL

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TRADE AND TRAVE MATTERS. WHEN ASKED IF DISCUSSIONS ON THESE SUBJECTS WAS SUGGESTED BY MR. GAUS WHEN HE HANDED OVER THE FRG RESPONSE TO THE GDR AIDE MEMOIRE A WEEK BEFORE, RICHTHOFEN REPLIED IN THE NEGATIVE SAYING THAT ALL THE FRG DID WAS RESPOND TO A GDR ATTACK ON THE PERMREP. HOWEVER, HE DID NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF SUCH DISCUSSIONS IN THE FUTURE. WITH REGARD TO THE ACTIVITIES OF THE PERMREP, RICHTHOFEN SAID IT WAS BELIEVED THAT THE GDR AUTHORITIES WOULD CONTINUE TO DISCOURAGE APPLICATIONS TO EMIGRATE TO THE FRG BUT THAT THIS DISCOURAGEMENT WOULD TAKE PLACE AT THE LOCAL LEVEL BY GDR BUREAUCRATS AS OPPOSED TO THE HIGHLY VISIBLE SURVEILLANCE OF THE FRG REPRESENTATION. ASKED FOR AN EXAMPLE, RICHTHOFEN SAID THAT LOCAL OFFICIALS PROBABLY WOULD WARN APPLICANTS THAT THEY SHOULD NOT TRY A SECOND TIME AFTER THEY HAD BEEN TURNED DOWN AND IF THEY DID CONTINUE TO REQUEST EMIGRATION THEY WOULD HAVE TO "SUFFER THE CONSEQUENCES" IN THE FORM OF LOSING THEIR JOBS, PRESSURE ON THE FAMILY, ETC.

2. HONECKER INTERVIEW. RICHTHOFEN SAID THAT HONECKER'S REFERENCE TO FAMILY REUNIFICATION WAS NOT SEEN AS ANY ENCOURAGEMENT THAT THE GDR WOULD BE MORE FORTHCOMING ON THIS MATTER THAN IN THE PAST. HE ALSO DID NOT BELIEVE THAT HONECKER MEANT TO IMPLY THAT A COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE FRG AND GDR POSITIONS WAS POSSIBLE, I.E. IN WHICH PEOPLE WITH FAMILY TIES IN THE FRG COULD RECEIVE COUNSELLING AT THE FRG REPRESENTATION. RICHTHOFEN SAID THAT HE BELIEVED THE GDR WOULD CONTINUE TO ALLOW ONLY ABOUT 10,000 GDR EMIGRANTS TO THE FRG PER YEAR. HE SAID THESE WERE COMPOSED OF ABOUT 5500 PEOPLE WHO HAD FAMILY CONNECTIONS AND THE REMAINDER WERE EITHER POLITICAL PRISONERS WHO WERE RANSOMED OR OTHERWISE WHOM THE GDR WAS WILLING TO LET GO ALTHOUGH THEY HAD NO FRG TIES. THE MAIN CONDITION FROM THE GDR'S POINT OF VIEW WILL CONTINUE TO BE THAT THE RELEASE OF THESE PEOPLE WILL NOT BE PUBLICIZED IN ANY WAY BY THE FRG SO AS TO AVOID ENCOURAGING OTHERS IN THE GDR

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TO APPLY.

3. HUMAN RIGHTS: RICHTHOFEN ASKED IF WE SAW ANY INTEREST ON THE PART OF GDR INTELLECTUALS IN THE CHARTER 77 DEVELOPMENTS. EMBOFF RESPONDED THAT WE DID NOT SEE ANY SYMPATHY BEING EXPRESSED BY GDR INTELLECTUALS FOR THE CHARTER 77 MOVEMENT NOR DID WE SEE THE BEGINNINGS OF A SIMILAR MOVEMENT IN THE GDR. RICHTHOFEN AGREED WITH THIS RESPONSE AND THEN ASKED IF WE HAD NOTICED ANY GDR INTEREST IN PRESIDENT CARTER'S LETTER TO SAKAROV. EMBOFF RESPONDED THAT WE HAD SEEN NOTHING IN THE MEDIA IN THE GDR ON THE SUBJECT WHICH DID NOT NECESSARILY INDICATE A LACK OF INTEREST BY THE GOVERNMENT ON THIS SUBJECT. EMBOFF TOLD HIM CONFIDENTIALLY THAT THE CHARGE HAD BEEN TOLD BY DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER GRUENERT THAT THE GDR GOVERNMENT WAS "SHOCKED" TO LEARN OF THE CARTER LETTER.

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07

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FM AMEMBASSY BERLIN

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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION USBERLIN UNN

USMISSION NATO

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

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4. GAUS: ASKED IF GUENTHER GAUS WAS UPSET DURING THE RECENT BUNDESTAG DEBATE ON HIS SPIEGEL INTERVIEW, RICHTOFEN SAID THAT GAUS DID NOT FEEL UNEASY BECAUSE HE IS " WELL-CONNECTED" AND A " FIGHTER" WHO WOULD NOT EASILY BE REMOVED ON POLITICAL GROUNDS. RICHTHOFEN NOTED THAT THE BUNDESTAG DEBATE WAS DRAWN ALONG PARTY LINES AND DID NOT NECESSARILY MEAN THAT GAUS HAD LOST ANY CREDENCE WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT. WITH REGARD TO THE SPIEGEL ARTICLE, RICHTHOFEN SAID GAUS WAS TRYING TO INITIATE A DISCUSSION OF THE CITIZENSHIP AND BORDER PROBLEMS IN THE PUBLIC MEDIA IN ORDER TO DETERMINE IF THERE WAS ANY WAY OF MEETING SOME OF THE GDR'S PROBLEMS WITH THESE SUBJECTS. GAUS DID NOT INTEND TO " GIVE ONE INCH" ON THE FRG POSITIONS ON THE SUBJECTS AND HIS RAISING THEM IN THE SPIEGEL INTERVIEW HAD BEEN COMPLETELY MISREAD BY THE FRG MEDIA. GAUS THOUGHT THAT IT WAS TIME TO RAISE THESE SUBJECTS SINCE THERE HAD NOT BEEN ANY MOVEMENT ON THEM SINCE 1973. INSTEAD OF ELICITING A FACTUAL DISCUSSION OF THE MATTERS, HOWEVER, THE ATTEMPT HAD BOOMERANGED AND HAD BROUGHT OUT ONLY THE WELL-KNOWN POSITIONS FAVORED BY VARIOUS FRG POLITICIANS. GAUS'S ONLY REGRET WAS THAT HIS

SUGGESTIONS HAD NOT RESULTED IN A REAL PUBLIC DEBATE ON THE SUBJECTS.

5. THE GDR POPULATION: RICHTOFEN SAID THAT INTELLECTUALS IN THE GDR ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY MORE RESENTFUL OF THE LIFE-STYLE OF THE SED PARTY HIERARCHY. THEY COULD NOT UNDERSTAND THE ATTACHEMENT TO MATERIAL GOODS BY THE LEADERSHIP AND THE WAY IN WHICH THEY ISOLATED THEMSELVES FROM THE MASS OF GDR CITIZENS. EMBOFF NOTED THAT THIS SAME KIND OF CIRITCISM WAS CONTAINED IN A BIERMANN TO HAVEMANN LETTER PUBLISHED IN DIE ZEIT ON FEBRUARY 24. BIERMANN HAS ACCUSED THE SED LEADERS OF LIVING BEHIND A WALL AT WANDLITZ AND WONDERED WHY THE LEADERS COULD NOT SIMPLY WALK AROUND DOWNTOWN EAST BERLIN AND TALK WITH GDR CITIZNES IN AN OPEN WAY. RICHTOFEN SAID HE HAD NOT YET SEEN THE ARTICLE BUT IT MIRRORED SOME OF THE CONCERNS HE HAD HEARD FROM INTELLECTURALS SCHOOLED IN COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY. HE NOTED THAT NOT ONLY THE INTELLECTUALS BUT THE WORKERS IN THE GDR ARE UNHAPPY BECUSE OF THEIR LOW RATE OF PAY AND THAT THEY ARE NOT ABLE TO AFFORD ALL OF THE GODS WHICH THEY WOULD LIKE TO BUY EVEN THOGH MORE THAN ONE MEMBER OF THE FAMILY IS WORKING. HE ALSO
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SAID THERE SEEMED TO BE NO INITIATIVE FOR A WORKER TO PRODUCE MORE IN ORDER TO RECEIVE A BONUS BECAUSE THE EXTRA MONEY HE MADE COULD NOT BE USED TO PURCHASE THE GOODS HE WANTS. THESE GOODS ARE SIMPLY NOT AVAILABLE. (COMMENT: THIS PORTION OF RICHTOFEN'S REMARKS REFLECTS THE LINE TAKEN BY SOME MEMBERS OF THE REPRESENTATION THAT THERE IS A CERTAIN RESTIVENESS AMONG VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF THEGDR POPULATION WHICH, HOWEVER, IS NOT WELL- ARTICULATED OR ANYTHING CLOSE TO BEING A THREAT TO CIVIL ORDER IN THE GDR. AS RICHTOFEN DESCRIBES HIS IMPRESSIONS, ONE IS APT TO CONCLUDE THAT THE WISH IS FATHER TO THE THOUGHT AND THAT PEOPLE IN THE REPRESENTATION ARE PERHAPS LOOKING FOR FISSURES IN THE GDR PUPULACE WHICH ARE POSSIBLIITIES RATHE THAN REALITIES. THEY ARE THE FIRST TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE SAMPLE ABOUT WHICH THEY SEPAK IS QUITE SMALL.)
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